DISTRICT CENSUS REPORT.

REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF THE DISTRICT OF NOAKHALI, 1891.

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REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF THE DISTRICT OF NOAKHALI, 1891.

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DISTRICT CENSUS REPORT.

No. 453, dated Noakhali, the 11th April 1892.

From—NANDA KRISHNA BOSE, Esq., Offg. Magistrate of Noakhali,
To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Financial Department.

IN obedience to your circular No. 6T.—F., dated 3rd October 1891, I have the honour to submit the following report on the results of the recent census.

2. My predecessor, Mr. Macpherson, has already submitted the administrative section of the report. He was unable to compile the other portions of the report, but has sent me a few notes, giving the results of his personal experience and enquiries when on tour. These notes have been embodied in this report.

REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF THE DISTRICT OF NOAKHALI, 1891.

HEAD I.—EARLY HISTORY, &c.

The district of Noakhali consists of a tract of main land, with several islands, on the sea-face of the Bay of Bengal at the mouth of the Meghna. The mainland is (geologically speaking) a recent alluvial formation, and the islands are merely the crests of an extensive and increasing alluvial deposit at the mouth of the estuary, and are formed over the area in which the tidal and the river waters wage incessant warfare. Tradition speaks of Meher, a village in the Tippera district, as being the southernmost point of *Asali* land, and all the lands below as being of deltaic origin. The district, as is well known, is liable to salt inundation and to incursions of storm-waves. Along the old factory road above Begamganj, Gopiganj, and Dewanganj, there are many very highly-embanked tanks, probably made scores of years ago to meet the calamity of wide-spread salt inundations and storm-waves. This cordon of highly-embanked tanks of great size would seem to show that, when they were dug and embanked, the sea or river coast was many miles inland on the north. There is no mention of Noakhali, Sudharam or Bhulluah in any of the old Hindu shastras, although the names of Kamalankya (Comilla), and Samkya (Chittagong) are to be found in them.

2. The countries lying on the east bank of the Meghna are called "Pandava-barjita Desh" by the Hindus. The tradition is that during their wanderings, the five *Pandavas* did not come to these parts It is said that Bhima was first sent across the river to reconnoitre the country, but his nature underwent such a change for the worse immediately on setting his foot on land, that, forgetting his wonted respect and affection for his brothers, he began to address them in abusive language, urging them to cross without delay. Thereupon, Judhisthira recalled his brother and cursed the country, which could vitiate even Bhima's nature, as unfit for Aryans.

3. There is no record, not even any tradition, of the Aryan's first struggle with the people of the land, the first sharp collision of Aryan civilization with aboriginal barbarism. This country appears to have been under the kings of Tripura in olden times. The inscriptions on the stone pillar (*lat*) at Allahabad would go to show that Samudra Gupta of the Gupta family realized tribute from the kings of Tripura. Hewen Thoang, the celebrated Chinese traveller, mentions Kamalankya as the seat of the Tripura kings in his travels. There is some reason to believe that formerly the kings of Tripura, and in consequence his subjects, were Buddhists. But when Buddhism was driven across the sea, the semi-aboriginal (Dravidian ?) tribes inhabiting these parts became Hinduized, and were absorbed into the Hindu community. The high class Hindus who are now met with in these parts are settlers of a comparatively recent date. The Brahmans number 11,910 out of a total population of 1,009,693 souls.

4. According to a local tradition, the first settlement of higher classes of Hindus in the district took place when one Bisambhar Sur, a Kayastha, passed through the district on his way to the sacred shrine of Chandranath at Sitakund in Chittagong, and on his return settled in Noakhali. The date of the settlement has been given in Hunter's Statistical

Account (page 247) as 1720 A.D. But from the enquiries I made, and from an entry in an old manuscript in possession of a descendant of Bisambhar Sur, the date appears to be 10th Magh 610 B.S. (corresponding with 1203 A.D.), *i.e.*, just about the time Bakhtiar Khiliji conquered Gour. The date appears to be a probable one, as it is well known that at the time of the Muhammadan conquest several Hindu chieftains retired to places remote from the seats of Muhammadan kingdom. The tradition is that Raja Bisambhar lost his bearings in the sea, invoked his titular goddess Báráhi, and discovered land, having been led thereto by a flight of *paddy* birds (বক). There is a place still called বক্‌ফির । near Begamganj, and another called Báráhinagar, where there is a temple of Báráhi. The people of the district believe that the temple was established by Bisambhar Súr when he settled in Noakhali.

5. The fourth descendant from Bisambhar Súr, named Sriramkhan, is said to have established the village of Srirampur in *thana* Ramganj, and built there a palace, the remains of which are still to be seen. Some *Surs* still live in that village. Raja Lakhan Manikya, the eighth descendant of Bisambhar, appears to be a historical character. He is reported to be the author of two Sanskrit books "বিদ্যাভিবিজয় ।" and "কৌতুকরত্নাকর ।," and to have brought high class Brahmans versed in the vedas into the district and settled them at Srirampur, Khilpara, Chowpali, Duttopara in Ramganj *thana*, and Babupur and Barahinagar in Begamganj *thana*. Lakhan Manikya was attacked by the Mughul troops, presumably under Faradkhan, the *Thanadar* of Bhulluah, about the year 1665, and was compelled to pay yearly tribute to the Governor of Bengal.

6. It has been ascertained by the census that nearly three-fourths of the population at the present date are Muhammadans. Nearly forty years after the conquest of Gour by Bakhtiar Khiliji, the first collision between the Muhammadan and the Hindu kingdoms in these parts took place. It is said that during the Muhammadan supremacy in Bengal, twelve "*anlas*" or fakirs came to these parts to convert the people to Muhammadanism. One of them, Bakhtiar Maisur, settled in Sandip and established an "*astana*" in the village of *mauza* Ruhini, which is still held in great veneration by the Muhammadans. In a paper read by the late Mr. H. Blochman, a legend has been quoted, ascribing the first conquest of Chittagong and the conversion of its inhabitants to Islam to Nusrat Shah during the years 1523-1533 A.D. There can be no doubt that the low class Hindus were bodily converted into Muhammadanism. They could never get rid of their low origin; they could not overstep the social barriers existing between them and the higher classes. To them Islam declaring equality between man and man came as a veritable godsend. It was not to the sword chiefly that Muhammadanism owed its success among the low castes. It was not exactly from conscientious religious conviction that they embraced the creed of Mahomet. Of these low people whom Hinduism had barely admitted into its precincts, Islam, preaching the equality of man, quickly obtained a willing allegiance. It was the faith of the conquerors, and it offered to these teeming masses, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of Hinduism, a free entrance into genteel society, and a more equal social organisation. Mr. Macpherson thus explains the great preponderance of Muhammadans:—"The Muhammadans can adapt themselves more readily than Hindus, whose religious observances stand in the way of their becoming squatters on desolate *chars* and islands. The district, as a whole, is of comparatively recent formation and settlement, and naturally Muhammadans and low-caste Hindus or semi-Hindus, who are more easily converted than Hindus of higher caste, were the first to settle in it. Also the newest parts of the district are the tracts where Muhammadans most predominate."

7. Sandip, which was a nest of Arracanese (Magh) and Portuguese pirates 200 years ago, contained no Portuguese and no Maghs in 1872 and 1881. In the last census, 35 Buddhists were found, but they were temporary settlers, being mostly day-labourers and boatmen. The overseer of the District Board and his servants were also returned as Buddhists. It would seem that all the Portuguese and Maghs were deported from Sandip in the middle of the seventeenth century by the Mughuls. The Feringhis in Sudharam *thana* and (other places) in Noakhali are believed to be the descendants of the Portuguese, who were compelled to leave Sandip, but there has been a considerable intermixture of blood since. There is a small Magh colony in Begamganj and another in Fenny. They appear to be old settlers, and their chief occupation is cultivation. Mr. Macpherson remarks:—"The Maghs and Portuguese were hand-in-hand as pirates, and all were cleared out. The only Buddhists in the islands are the District Board's sub-overseer and his servants; others consused were travellers."

8. Of the 32 "others" in *thana* Sudharam (all but one of them, males), twenty were "Bhils" found in a boat. Mr. Macpherson remarks:—"These men, about whom a special enquiry was made at the instance of the Census Superintendent, said they came from Arrah. The name "Bhil" must be a mistake. No doubt what they called themselves was "Bind," a caste pretty numerous in Shahabad, generally fishermen, but of known thieving propensities. Very likely they might have wandered so far on a thieving expedition, but nothing occurred in this district about the time to indicate the presence of a marauding band."

9. There are only 23 Brahmos found in the district. They have nearly all of them come from other districts for service or profession.

10. The subjoined table shows that, relatively speaking, the Hindus are most numerous in Chhagalnaia, above the average in Begamganj, Fenny, Ramganj, and Sandip, below the average in Lakhmipur, Hattia, and Bamni, and fewest in Sudharam, while the Muhammadans are relatively most numerous in Sudharam, above the average in Bamni, Hattia, and

Lakhmipur, below the average in Sandip, Ramganj, Fenny, and Begamganj, and fewest in Chhagalnaia :—

Thanas.	Percentage on total Population of—					
	Hindus.			Muhammadans.		
	1872.	1881.	1891.	1872.	1881.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sudharam ...	17·4	18·8	18·3	82·1	80·6	81·1
Begamganj ...	30·3	27·3	25·9	69·5	72·6	74·09
Ramganj ...	27·3	26·2	25·07	72·6	73·7	74·9
Lakhmipur ...	24·2	22·7	20·7	75·8	77·2	79·2
Bamni ...	22·0	21·9	20·2	78·0	78·05	79·7
Sandip ...	23·9	23·6	24·9	76·1	76·3	75·03
Hattia ...	22·4	21·7	20·6	77·6	78·2	79·2
Fenny ...	27·1	27·03	25·6	72·8	72·9	74·2
Chhagalnaia ...	37·1	35·9	34·3	62·9	63·9	65·6
Total ...	26·7	25·7	24·5	73·1	74·1	75·3

11. The remarkable feature observable from the statement is that in the *thanas* of Chhagalnaia, Begamganj, Ramganj, Fenny, and Sandip, the Hindus are relatively more numerous, while the reverse is the case in the *thanas* of Sudharam, Bamni, Hattia, and Lakhmipur. Leaving out of consideration for the present the case of Sandip and Hattia, which is rather peculiar, it is obvious that in the *thanas* near the sea or river coast, the Muhammadans are relatively more numerous, while the Hindus are comparatively larger in number in the inland *thanas*.

12. Two circumstances appear to have brought about this state of things—Chhagalnaia and Parasuram a police outpost have from time immemorial belonged to the Hindu Raj at Agartala. It is therefore only natural to suppose that Hindus should have more largely made their homes there than in other parts of the district, which were either under Muhammadan rule or anarchy. The Muhammadans are, as a rule, more adventurous than the Hindus, whose instincts are in opposition to migration to distant places. It is for this reason that later alluvial formations are more largely resorted to by Mussalmans than by Hindus, whose religious and social considerations stand in the way of such isolated occupation. This remark about Hindus, however, does not hold good in case of Namasudras and Halia Das, who are perhaps more industrious and persevering, if somewhat less intelligent, than their Muhammadan fellow-cultivators. Bamni, Sudharam, Hattia, and Lakhmipur abound in *chars* of recent formation, and this accounts for the larger comparative preponderance of Muhammadans over Hindus in these *thanas*. Sandip, however, is an exception. The increase in Hindu population there is due to the fact that many Halia Das families of Bamni have of late years migrated to Sandip, owing to the heavy diluvion that has been going on on the Bamni coast since the last few years. Mr. Macpherson remarks :—"The relative increase of Hindus in Sandip is due to the washing away of a great part of Bamni, where there were many low-caste Hindus, and these naturally moved to the nearest available lands in Badu and Lakhmi (which are included in Sandip *thana*)."

If we compare the percentages of total population on Hindus and Muhammadans, given in the margin, it will be seen that the percentages on Muhammadans have steadily increased, and that those on Hindus have as steadily decreased. This may be due to the following circumstances :—

Percentage on Hindu.			Percentage on Muhammadan.		
1872	1881.	1891.	1872.	1881.	1891.
26·7	25·7	24·5	73·1	74·1	75·3

(1) There is no widow-marriage, properly so called, among the Hindus ; among some low-caste Hindus remarriage of widows is permitted, but it is looked down upon. This custom, however, is fast disappearing from among the low castes, among whom is observable a rapid sliding into pure Hindu customs, and a continuous attempt at social assimilation with the higher Hindu castes.

(2) The Hindus are so very few, and they are so reluctant to marry into unknown families, though of the same caste, that their marriage has become an extremely difficult and costly affair. For instance, the Jugis, Napits, Dhobis, and Halia Dases are divided into two classes according to their habitation, viz :—Bhulluah (mainland) and Sandip. The Bhulluah Jugis, &c., will not marry into the families of Sandip Jugis, &c. : each class is endogamous in

itself. Not a few of these castes, therefore, remain totally unmarried, while those who marry are compelled, by the above circumstances, to marry late in life.

(3) There are more middle-class men who avoid manual labour among Hindus than among Mussulmans. These men are gradually losing all means of subsistence, especially the Brahmans and Hindus of higher castes, and are therefore gradually going to the wall.

Head II.—Movement of the Population.

13. It is almost impossible to report anything under this head without having the tabulated figures of emigration into other districts to go upon. All that can be said now is that the percentage of males born in the district is 97·8, the same as in 1881, but that the percentage of females is slightly greater, being 98·4, and a little less than in 1881, when it was 98·6.

14. The indigenous female population is greater than the male. Two causes seem to have led to this result. There is a considerable number of people in Noakhali who came from other districts for purposes of trade, service, &c. These people do not, as a rule, bring the females of their family with them, and they thus add to the number of male immigrants into this district, without a corresponding increase in the number of female immigrants. Another reason is, that many of the male residents of this district go to other places, such as Chittagong and Calcutta, for service as boatmen, &c. These men leave their females behind, and thus decrease the percentage of the indigenous male population, without a corresponding decrease in the female population.

15. Ramganj shows an exception to the rule, viz., that the indigenous female population is greater than the male. Ramganj is a border *thana*, and a great many people marry females who have been born in the Tippera district. The number of these females may have an effect on the percentage of the indigenous female population.

16. The indigenous male population is greatest in *thanas*—

(1)	Begamganj	99·1
(2)	Bamni	98·9
(3)	Sandip	98·5
(4)	Fenny	98·4
(5)	Ramganj	98·1

and is less than the indigenous female population in all these *thanas* except Ramganj. These *thanas* do not contain any trading centres of sufficient importance, and it is in trading centres that a considerable number of male sojourners is always to be found.

17. In the following *thanas* the percentages of indigenous male and female population are as follows:—

Thana.	Percentage of male population.	Percentage of female population.
1	2	3
Chhagalnaia... ...	97·9	98·4
Sudharam	97·0	98 9
Lakhmipur	95·9	98·0
Hattia	95·5	96·0

In Chhagalnaia there are some trading places, but not many. The difference between the percentages of male and female indigenous population there is insignificant.

In Sudharam two causes have combined in equal force to cause a decline in the male percentage, and a comparatively larger difference between the two percentages. There are in this *thana* some considerable trading *entrepôts* which attract people from other districts, and there is a large body of sojourners, belonging to the other district within the municipality, who have come there for service or profession, besides trading purposes.

In Lakhmipur there are three very important trading centres, viz., Raipur, Bhabaniganj, and Lakhmipur. Besides the people engaged on trade on land, there is always a considerable boat population in these marts.

In Hattia both the male and female indigenous population is least, and is in marked contrast with Sandip. Mr. Macpherson remarks:—"Hattia suffered from the cyclone worse than did Sandip, and females perished in greater numbers than males, as the men thought mainly of saving themselves. Hattia is cultivated to a considerable extent by bodies of temporary immigrants. This is not the case with Sandip. The Hattia people had also to get their wives from outside this district to a greater extent than the Sandip men."

Head III.—Varying Density of the Population.

18. The following statement shows the percentage of increase or decrease of population in several *thanas* :—

Thana.	Of 1881 as compared with 1872.			Of 1891 as compared with 1872.			Of 1891 as compared with 1881.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sudharam	5·04	5·00	5·02	22·29	27·30	24·74	16·42	21·24	18·87
Ramganj	27·03	27·50	27·25	54·37	59·00	56·59	21·29	24·71	23·06
Lakhmipur	5·09	7·71	7·91	32·92	33·71	33·30	22·97	24·14	23·53
Begamganj	—15·87	—15·20	—15·54	4·34	5·22	4·11	24·04	24·06	24·05
Bamni	23·32	22·33	22·81	44·54	44·86	44·36	17·20	13·73	17·83
Hattia	—21·43	—30·06	—25·58	—5·01	—12·63	—8·68	20·89	24·91	22·71
Sandip	—15·32	—18·07	—16·72	18·96	13·32	16·08	40·47	38·31	39·38
Fenny	2·54	3·50	3·03	24·25	25·83	25·50	21·17	21·57	21·37
Chhagalnaia	—8·72	—·68	—4·73	4·47	12·29	8·35	14·45	13·60	13·78
Total ...	...	...	—1·82	...	...	20·15	...	...	23·02

The population of the district has increased 22·39 per cent. in ten years. Mr. Macpherson remarks:—"Every part of the district shares in the increase. The recovery from the effects of the cyclone of 1876 is the principal cause of the increase in the islands of Sandip and Hattia and in the littoral parts of Fenny and Bamni. But it is extraordinary that in Ramganj and Begamganj, which were far removed from its influence, the population has increased by 23·06 and 24·05 respectively, and that too, although there was already in 1881 a density of 690 and 586 to the square mile in each of these *thanas* respectively. The cause must be sought in the extraordinary fertility of the soil, and the immunity of the district from scarcity caused by the vicissitudes of season. * * * Generally speaking, the increase of population on the tracts unaffected by the cyclone of 1876 may be attributed to the prevalence of early marriage throughout the Muhammadan and Hindu community combined, of course, with the capability of the soil to support the increase. In spite of the density of the population, the peasantry appear to be in a most prosperous condition, which is largely due to the income they derive from the dense groves of betel-nuts and cocoanuts surrounding their homesteads. The island of Hattia has not yet recovered from the effects of the cyclone of 1876, and its population is still less than it was in 1872. The density is less here than in any other part of the district, being only 267 to the square mile, but a great part of the *char* land is cultivated by temporary immigrants chiefly from Backergunge, who do not bring their families with them. In Sandip the population is 14,000 more than it was in 1872, so that it has fully recovered from the effects of the cyclone, which left it in 1881 with a population of 14,549 less than at the earliest census. In Chhagalnaia a number of the male inhabitants were away at the time of the census, working in the forests of Hill Tippera, and nevertheless the density of the population there reaches the extraordinary figure for a rural tract in Bengal Proper of 947·6 to the square mile."

19. The density of population is calculated by dividing the total population by the area. In all the censuses the density in Chhagalnaia stands highest. It is to be feared that the area of Chhagalnaia has not been correctly ascertained. This supposition does not seem improbable when we take into consideration the fact that a large portion of it is hilly.

20. Mr. Macpherson notes—"I do not think the population of the district has been affected to any appreciable extent by any of the physical or economic causes mentioned under head III of Government circular."

21. As regards alteration of area of the district since 1881, Mr. Macpherson remarks :—"There has been little change in the areas of the district or *thanas* since last census. Four villages, with an area of about four square miles and a supposed population of 4,269, have been transferred from Chittagong to the Fenny *thana*.

"*Char* Falcon with an area of about ten square miles has been transferred from Backergunge to Hattia, but it contained no resident population at the previous census, and the island of Hattia is so liable to alluvion and diluvion that no change of area is considered necessary in this case."

22. In the year 1874, 78 villages were transferred from the jurisdiction of the district of Tippera to this district, and 22 from this district to that of Tippera. The population of these villages ascertained in the censuses of 1872 and 1881 is not available here.

The Fenny subdivision was established in 1876, and *thana* Mirsarai (in the Chittagong district) was included in it. In 1878, however, the *thana* was retransferred to the Chittagong district.

23. In 1872 three villages, viz. (1) Musapur in Sandip, (2) *char* Manasha in Lakhmipur, and (3) Nalchira in Hattia were found to contain more than 10,000 inhabitants. Since 1872 there has been much diluvion in these estates. *Char* Manasa has been split up into two as also Nalchira.

During the present census the population of these villages was returned as follows :—

(1)	Musapur	8,218
(2)	(*a*) *Char* Manasa	3,139
	(*b*) Dakin *Char* Manasa ...	3,986
(3)	(*a*) Nalchira Chowdhrir Katta ...	4,998
	(*b*) Ditto Saheber Katta ...	3,810

Head IV.—Religion.

24. A great deal of trouble was taken at the actual enumeration to record "Sects" in the schedules, but no provision was made for abstracting that information afterwards. My remarks, therefore, on this branch of the subject will be mostly based upon general enquiries without reference to the census figures.

25. We have, however, figures as regards Christian sects, and they show that almost all the Christians are now Roman Catholics, though there appears to have been ten years ago a considerable Protestant and Baptist community. From the information given to me by an old Christian inhabitant of the place, it seems that during the census of 1881 the sects were not correctly put down.

26. As regards Muhammadans, out of a population of 760,597, 757,665 have returned themselves as Sheiks. They are to a man *Ferajis*, or observers of the strict commandments of the *Koran*. There is every reason to believe that some 60 years ago they were as much immersed in superstition as the semi-Hinduized tribes from which they sprang. They repeated, it is true, the formulæ of the *Namaj*, even while participating in all the rites of Hinduism.

The worship of one God was obscured by that of the *Imams* or successors to Muhammad, and of countless saints or *pirs*, whose dicta were regarded with a reverence due to the revealed *Koran* alone. In the beginning of the present century a Muhammadan revival swept over Eastern Bengal. All respect for holy men or *pirs* was interdicted, and everything was sacrificed to the paramount duty of performing religious observances on a scale compared to which those of the Pharisees were laxity itself. An immense impetus to the movement has been given by the facilities offered by the railway and steamer system for a pilgrimage to Mecca. There is not a single Muhammadan village which does not contain a *Haji*.

27. *Hindus.*—As a rule, the Brahmans and other high-class Hindus are worshippers of Sakti, while the lower classes are Baishnabs or followers of Chaitanya. The latter, however, still retain some of what appears to be aboriginal objects of worship, and have accepted others of their Muhammadan and Magh neighbours. For instance, while the Muhammadan *Ferajis* do not now recognize any saint or *pir*, the low-class Hindus worship Muhammadan saints, the number of whom is said to be three *lakhs*. The worship of *Sitala* (the goddess of small-pox) and *Nag* (serpent) is very much prevalent among them, while vultures are worshipped as messengers of a goddess called Magesvari, borrowed from the Maghs.

The number of Barna Brahmans seems to be on the increase. These Barna Brahmans were invariably pure Brahmans, having fallen from the high state by some *liaison* with low-caste women, or by marrying into inferior grades, and so forth. Often a large fee is sufficient to tempt a pure Brahman to officiate as priest to the low-class Hindus, and the high social position given to them by the caste for which they officiate is often a great inducement. To them comes great profit as well as repute by the addition to the crowd to whom their religious ministry has become indispensable. These Barna Brahmans are the most active missionaries of popular Hinduism, and to them is owing, in a great measure, the gradual Hinduization of the semi-aboriginal and casteless tribes throughout Bengal.

28. The Brahmo Somaj does not seem to flourish in Noakhali. Only 23 persons have been returned as Brahmos, but it is believed that not more than four of them are natives of this district.

29. The Christian population is almost stationary, being 557, 588, and 641 souls in the years 1872, 1881, and 1891 respectively. The figures for 1891 show that almost all the Christians in the district are Roman Catholics, though 10 years ago there appears to have been a considerable Protestant and Baptist community. It is probable that all these persons who were returned as Protestants in 1881 have become Roman Catholics in 1891. They have a chapel and an Italian priest, and are as black as low-caste Bengalis. Many of them hunt hogs, and nearly all cultivate land.

Head V.—Infirmities.

30. In regard to this, no safe conclusions can be drawn from the compiled figures supplied. No information can be given tending to connect leprosy with the excessive use of particular kinds of food, or with particular modes of life.

Head VI.—Education.

31. The following table summarizes the number of schools and scholars in 1872, 1881, and 1891, as published in the report of the Director of Public Instruction :—

Years.	Number of schools.	Number of Scholars.		Total.
		Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5
1872	625	5,522	95	5,617
1881	709	16,175	306	16,481
1891	1,412	29,244	3,342	32,586

In 1891 the total number of schools, including private institutions, is 2,341, and the number of scholars 47,451; but as the figures for 1872 and 1881 are of public institutions, the number of only public institutions in 1891 has also been shown. There are no female scholars in the private institutions.

32. Calculating at 15 per cent., as usual, of the total male population, the total number of boys of a school-going age would stand at about 63,900, 62,595, and 76,309 in 1872, 1881, and 1891 respectively; that is to say, about 8·6, 26, 40 per cent. of the boys of a school-going age were actually at school in 1872, 1881, and 1891 respectively. The increase is remarkable. In the report of the Director of Public Instruction for the year 1871-72, it is not stated how many of the scholars were Muhammadans and how many Hindus. It only says that the district being a good rice-producing land, Muhammadans were not generally forward for high education, and that they were to be found in moderate numbers in middle or primary schools. In any case, however, it may be fairly presumed that Muhammadan pupils at the best were not above half the number. From the figures of Muhammadan pupils in 1881 and 1891 it would appear that, while in 1872 the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu pupils was about equal, it was double in 1881, and more than treble in 1891, a proportion quite in keeping with the present proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu population of the district.

33. The schools are reported as being most numerous in *thanas* Sudharam, Begamganj, Lakhmipur, and Ramganj, and less so in Fenny and Chhagalnaia, and fewer in Bamni and the islands. The following statement shows the educational statistics as ascertained in the censuses of 1881 and 1891:—

	Sex.	Learning.		Literate.		Illiterate.	
		1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hindu	Male	7,406	8,364	15,523	21,937	84,794	95,823
	Female	82	224	112	437	103,559	121,361
	Total ...	7,488	8,588	15,635	22,374	188,353	217,184
Muhammadan	Male	16,517	13,567	17,219	26,137	273,415	342,373
	Female	182	432	69	323	301,190	377,766
	Total ...	16,699	13,999	17,288	26,460	574,605	720,138
	Grand Total for the entire population ...	24,211	22,606	32,988	48,933	763,573	938,154

34. The percentage of persons who are learning and literate on the total population is as follows:—

	Sex.	1881.	1891.
	1	2	3
Hindus ...	Male ...	21·2	24·1
	Female ...	·18	·5
Muhammadans	Male ...	10·9	10·3
	Female ...	·08	·19
Christians ...	Male ...	22·5	24·7
	Female ...	3·8	3·9

35. It will be observed that there is an increase under the heads "literate' and "illiterate," which is commensurate with the growth of the general population and calls for no special remark, but that there should be any decrease at all in the number of those that are "learning," when it is notorious that schools are rapidly increasing every year, is striking. The published reports of the Education Department do not show such to have been the case. In these 32,586 have been shown as learning in 1,412 public schools of different classes in 1891, exclusive of 14,865 reading in 929 *koran* schools, and 16,481 in 709 schools in 1881, thus showing an increase of 16,105 rather than a decrease of about the same number as shown by the census returns. The reason of such a wide divergence between the two returns seems to be this—that while all children whose names are borne on the rolls of the schools whether able to read and write, or not, are shown in the returns of the Education Department, while, under rule (12*c*) of the instructions to enumerators, those only have been included in the census returns who had learnt to read and write, and not those who are mere beginners.

Under the circumstances, both the returns might be accepted as approximately correct in their own way.

36. From the percentages given in paragraph 34, it is clear that while education has expanded *pari passú* with the growth of population, Muhammadans are still backward as compared with Hindus.

37. The figures given above undoubtedly show great progress among the general mass of the people, but how far that educational progress has been of any real benefit to them is a matter about which there is a vast difference of opinion. At the present day, the cultivator, the weaver, the trader, the artisan, the washerman, the barber, one and all are fired with a desire to train their boys for employment, especially under Government, and thus escape from the paternal plough or workshop. The phenomenon is, perhaps, the result of a huge popular delusion, and not the effect of a genuine thirst for useful knowledge. The Deputy Inspector of Schools in this district writes :—"My own idea about the matter is, that an increased education of the kind, such as it has so far been, has only tended to make the men less inclined to take to, or improve, their own natural callings, and indeed less fit for business, trade, agriculture, and industry of any kind, and that, therefore, with the increased expansion of education under the primary scheme, want and destitution also has increased to a considerable extent." Babu Nobin Chandra Sen, the Subdivisional Officer of Fenny, whose opinion is of great weight, remarks :—"The Government patronage of indigenous schools has only served to raise high expectation never to be fulfilled in the lower orders of people, and the result has been that children of all such classes, down to the sweepers and fishermen, are put to these schools, being weaned away from their own industry and calling. How disastrous this will prove to the people a few years hence, it is not even now difficult to foresee."

Head VII.—Language.

38. The language spoken is Bengali. Table XVIII no doubt shows a few small numbers varying from 5 to 36 as speaking English, Persian, Arabic, and other foreign languages, and 371 persons as speaking Urdu or Hindi, but I think that none of these are true residents of the district, and that they have been shown in the return of this district only for reason of their stay here for business or any other purpose when the enumeration for the census had taken place. In fact, Bengali is the language written and spoken throughout the district. It differs a little no doubt from the Bengali of other districts in the pronunciation of certain aspirates, and a little in the intonation and emphasis: otherwise it is much the same Bengali as is spoken everywhere in Bengal Proper.

Head VIII.—Castes.

39. The principal Hindu castes in this district may be conveniently divided into three classes—(1) superior castes, (2) intermediate castes, and (3) low-castes, thus :—

Superior castes.	1872.	1881.	1891.
1	2	3	4
1. Brahman	7,652	10,963	11,910
2. Baidyas	833	...	1,204
3. Kayasthas	20,878	37,565	45,251

Intermediate Sudra castes.	1872.	1881.	1891.
1	2	3	4
1. Barui	3,485	2,718	3,086
2. Chhutar	2,768	...	5,016
3. Kamar	1,350	2,119	1,853
4. Kumhar	3,518	4,640	4,900
5. Napit	10,528	12,671	14,866
6. Sudra Kayastha ...	4,292	2,212	...
7. Teli	2,954	4,489	4,305
8. Tanti	1,273	1,325	578

Low or semi-Hinduized tribes.	1872.	1881.	1891.
1	2	3	4
1. Jugi	33,038	37,879	45,001
2. Jaliya	9,823	8,602	11,066
3. Kaibartta and Halia Das ...	20,263	16,151	23,039
4. Nama-sudra	12,947	18,644	23,540
5. Dhobi	13,243	15,150	17,520

40. The superior castes, especially the Brahmans, are pure Aryans. The social organization of the Hindus requires a large number of retainers for social and ceremonious purposes, such as menial servants, barbers, &c. The latter are Sudra castes, and are probably the result of amalgamation with pure Aryans, when they settled down peacefully on the soil with non-Aryans (Dravidians ?). These Sudras have become in time completely Hinduized in religious and social usages. Brahmans are employed by these castes for religious and ceremonial purposes, but they are not received on equal terms by the high-class Brahmans.

41. There seems to be little doubt that the low castes enumerated in class III were at one time aborigines (Dravidians ?). There are three distinct stages through which the aboriginal tribes seem to pass before they are absorbed into the religious and social federation of the Hindus, before, in fact, they rise to the dignity of distinct Hindu castes. The first stage consists in the gradual change in their modes of life in order to suit the improved condition of society of the composite population among which they settle down, and in the adoption of some of the respectable manners and customs of the high-bred Hindus. They pass into the second stage when they are able to secure a Brahman priest to officiate at their domestic ceremonies, still retaining, however, some of the primitive customs, such as remarriage of widows and the like. The process of evolution is complete when they not only entertain a Brahman priest to minister to them, but also conform to all or nearly all the social rules and the laws of custom as well as of conduct of the pure Hindus. All the low-castes mentioned under class III have arrived at the second stage, while a few of them have passed into the third.

42. There are instances in which some castes of the second group have raised themselves (as will be shown later on) to membership of one of the castes in the first group, but there seems to be a sharp line of demarcation between the castes of the third group and the comparatively pure castes of Navasakhas, who are just above them in point of social status. To use a geological phrase, there seems to be a "fault" between these strata of castes. No instance has been observed of a caste of the third group struggling to be promoted to the caste of pure Hindus and to be ministered by high-class Brahmans. These castes seem to be quite contented with their Barno Brahmans, who satisfy all their needs, social and religious, and who exact smaller fees than the high-class Brahman priests.

43. Before entering into the question of distribution of chief castes in the district, I may premise that there are two well-marked endogamous divisions of all the castes enumerated above, in accordance as they live on the island of Sandip or in the mainland (Bhulua). Not only do the superior and intermediate castes of the mainland not intermarry with the families of the same castes in the island, but even the low castes follow the same rule. There is a tradition current in Sandip that one Baidya Nath Guho, Kayastha of Jessore, came to Sandip in the seventeenth century, and became its king, or rather, *zamindar*. He brought some high-class Hindus with him. Raja Baidya Nath appears to have been dispossessed of the island by a pirate of note, named Raja Dilal. It is related of him (to quote from Hunter's Statistical Accounts, page 240) "that he used to pay great attention to the intermarriage of his subjects with a view to producing a high physical type. He considered that the Hindu unbroken descent within the same individual caste was as deleterious to the race as intermarrying with the same family, and it is said to be from the measures he adopted that the castes in Sandip have become confused and mixed. Those persons who still remained Hindus were considered degraded, and no intermarriage is permitted between their descendants, and the members of the same castes in the mainland.

44. There is one other preliminary remark that may be made. There is no "Ballalism" prevailing among the indigenous Hindu castes in this district, either because it is so far from Nabadwip and Bikrampur, the seats of the Sen Rajas, or because a large part of the district was at the bottom of the sea at the time.

45. The Brahmans are for the most part descendants of immigrants from western districts, brought here either by the Maharaja of Tippera, or by Raja Lakhan Manikya of the Sura family with offers of *brahmottar* grants—a system which has played so important a part in the development of castes, and in promoting the spread of Hinduism throughout Bengal. I have already mentioned the principal seats of those Brahmans.

46. The Baidyas of Noakhali are considered superior to the Kayasthas in point of social status. They, however, cannot intermarry with the Baidyas west of the Meghna. The result has been that, failing women of their own caste, they, owing to their small number,

are compelled to get wives from the Kayasthas. They seldom give their own daughters to these castes in return. A Kayastha who can give his daughters in marriage to a Baidya considers himself superior to his caste-fellows who have not done so.

47. A very large number of Hindus has been censused as Kayasthas. A vast majority of them do not belong to, or are accepted as, high-bred Kayasthas. It will be observed that in 1872 and 1881, 4,292 and 2,212 persons were returned as Sudras, but not a single person at the present census, the reason being that the Sudras have, wholesale, returned themselves as Kayasthas. In Noakhali, Sudra is a caste-name, and is known as *Ghulam* Kayastha, Sikdar, and Bhandari. Here a Sudra, when he becomes wealthy, can by judicious marriage with pure Kayasthas, raise himself to membership of the lower classes of the latter. He drops the title of Sudra, and after a generation or two becomes absorbed into the rank of recognized Kayasthas. A parallel instance is to be found only in Orissa, where wealthy members of *Chasás Od* can raise themselves to membership of the lower classes of Karans, and assume the respectable title of *Mahantis*. The fact that certain Sudras have been accepted as pure Kayasthas, has led all the Sudras to return themselves during the census as Kayasthas. The origin of these Sudras is obscure (*see* Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," volume II, page 271).

48. As regards the other intermediate Sudra castes, excepting Barui, nothing new or interesting can be said. Barui does not appear to be a caste-name in this district. Some of the Sudras have taken to grow *pán* or betel-leaves, and being thus united by occupation as well as ancestry, have clustered together, and have developed peculiar regulative caste arrangements within themselves.

49. As regards the low castes, it will be observed that they have all multiplied within the last twenty years. Among them the *jugis* were at one time a flourishing race. When the East India Company first opened factories in this district, the manufacture of *bafta* cloth was not good, but it was subsequently very highly developed. In a letter written by the Chittagong Council, under date 16th February 1761, to Hon'ble Mr. H. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, the condition of the cloth manufacture is thus described (*See* Cotton's Revenue History of Chittagong, page 161):—"The manufacture of this country is at present very indifferent, all piece-goods being of a thick woolly quality, no way durable, and short in length and breadth. This may be improved by making the combs of the looms closer, spinning the thread harder and more even, and striking them fuller. We shall get some musters made with these inprovements and forward them to you." The principal cloth *aurungs* of the East India Company in this district were at Luckipur, Colinda, Jugudia, and Charpata, and it is in these places that *jugis* are to be found in large numbers. The head of their race is the family of Dalalbazar near Lakhipur. Braja Bullub Ray, a *jugi* of this family, was *dálál* or broker, his brother being *jachandar*, or appraiser, of the English factory. The son of Braja Bullub developed the trade in *bafta* cloth to so great an extent that the Company in 1765 bestowed on him the title and rank of Raja, presenting him at the same time with a *lakhiraj* or rent-free estate, which is still held by one of his descendants. Owing to the import of Manchester piece-goods, the *jugis* find it difficult to earn a livelihood by weaving. They have taken to other occupations, but they still do not hold a plough or wield a mattock, although they do not consider themselves degraded by reaping the ripe paddy as day-labourers. Those *jugis* who have got lands have them ploughed by hired labour. The *jugis* have raised themselves to high position by education. The present members of the Dalalbazar family are well educated, while a *jugi* has recently become a pleader in the Judge's Court. The *jugis* are divided into two classes, viz., Sandip *jugis* and Bhulua *jugis*, and each class is endogamous in itself.

50. The *Jalias* are divided into (1) Chatgaon Jaliya, (2) Bhulua Jaliya, Jhalo Jaliya, and Kaibartta Jaliya. They are all fishermen. Remarriage of widows in the *sángá* form obtains among *Chatgaon* Jaliyas, but has been abandoned by the other sections.

51. *Kaibartta and Halia Das.*—These two castes have been entered as one in the census, but they would probably resent if they are told that they are of the same race. There cannot, however, be much doubt that at one time they were of the same caste, and their occupation was catching of fish. But some members took to cultivation, and according to universal rule among the Hindus, their children followed the occupations of their parents, and in course of generation there resulted clusters of relatives engaged in the same occupation, and these clusters developed caste rules among themselves and became endogamous. The occupation of cultivation is always held respectable by the low castes and Halia Dases, who are the cultivating section of the Kaibartta caste, and are now a rising race. One of them has just joined the district bar.

52. The Chandals of Noakhali invariably call themselves Nama Sudras. They are divided into four classes, viz., (1) *Báchhari*, who are cultivators, and also deal in *hoglá* leaves and mats; (2) *Saralyá*, who are fishermen and carry palanquins; (3) *Amarabadia*, who are fishermen, but do not carry palanquins; (4) *Sundwip*, who live in Sandip and grow betel-leaves. Each of these classes is endogamous in itself.

The cultivating section of the Chandals is a rising class. They are perhaps more industrious, persevering, and economical, but somewhat less intelligent than their Muhammadan fellow-cultivators, rather obstinate and of an excitable temper.

53. As regards Sandwip Chandals, the following remarks of Dr. Wise on Chandals generally are applicable with peculiar force:—"During the anarchy that accompanied the downfall of Mughul power, the rivers of Bengal swarmed with river *thugs* or *dacoits*, who made travelling unsafe and inland trade impossible. The Chandals furnished the majority of these

miscreants, but since their dispersion, the Chandal has become a peaceful and exemplary subject of the English Government."

54. As regards the Muhammadans, nearly all of them belong to the new Puritanic movement. The vast majority of them are connected with land as cultivators. Some wealthy members among them have acquired *taluqs*, and carry on trade in betelnuts, hides, and paddy, &c. There are a few palanquin bearers among the Muhammadans, and they are akin to the Hindu caste of *Kahar*. In this district, the Muhammadans, unlike those in Mymensingh, Pabna, Faridpur, and Backergunge, have no scruples to wield a mattock and do earthwork, and perform other menial services.

Head IX.—Occupations.

55. The Hindu commonwealth even in these backward places, the latest acquisitions from the sea, was so admirably constituted that a separate caste was organized to meet each of its complex religious and social and industrial wants. The structure of the Hindu social system was consolidated by the transmission of positions and functions through successive generations. The caste-system facilitated adoptions of a craft by the children of those engaged in it, and hindered adoption of it by others. This was the "principle of fixity," as Herbert Spencer calls it, in the Hindu social organization. Thus there were at the head the Brahmans to minister to its spiritual wants, the Badyas to minister to its medicinal wants, the Kaisthas for clerical and other professional works, and the Sudras, and the castes below them, each following an occupation of its own. There were thus separate castes for weaving cloths, making pots, pressing oil, growing betel, catching fish, and carrying palki. Each caste enjoyed a monopoly of its calling, and amply made a living out of it. So rigorously was this monopoly guarded that an individual of one caste following the calling of, or having even a *liaison* with, another caste, was straightway outcasted. Great leveller as Islamism was of all distinction between man and man, even it failed to demolish this system of occupation by caste. The myriads that it converted, with few exceptions to be noticed below, either gave up or were deprived of their original occupation, and merged themselves into the vast sea of tillers of the soil or labourers. But what Muhammadanism failed to achieve, has now been compassed by the all-powerful machinery. The machine-made foreign goods have nearly killed all the old indigenous hand-made industries of the country. Accordingly plough and pen are fast becoming the two symbols of occupation for all castes, Hindu or Muhammadan. Out of a total population of 1,009,693 souls of this district, fully 685,682 have been shown to be agriculturists. If to these are added—

Betel-leaf sellers	12,285
General labourers	84,542
Grain dealers	12,323
Boatmen	6,496
Rice pounders	1,695

who are all connected more or less with agriculture, and agricultural produce and labour, then the number of agriculturists will be represented by the overwhelming figure of over 8 lakhs in a population of 10 lakhs. The bulk of the remainder is also made up of—

Public servants	11,774	in class A.
Personal servants	31,783	in class C.
Palki-bearers	2,541	and
Postal servants	1,289	in class E, and
Professionals	23,997	in class F.
Mendicants	19,753	in class G.

Indeed, if the figures in class D are closely looked into, it will be found that about a lakh of people are left to represent the petty trades and industries of the district. It is doubtful even if this figure is correct, for some of the figures present amusing and amazing diversity with those of the neighbouring districts of Chittagong and Tippera. Evidently the enumerators had interpreted the instructions given to them according to their own lights.

56. Nevertheless the figures, as they are, prove to demonstration, what is indeed a glaring fact, that unable to make a living in their own occupations, people of all castes and creeds are betaking to the soil and the service as the only means of livelihood. But as the areas of both are limited, and incapable of any further expansion, the increase of population by leaps and bounds on the one hand, and the increasing extinction of local industries of all sorts on the other, are raising problems which it is not possible to contemplate without feelings of grave apprehension for the future. They have nearly destroyed all distinctions of caste occupations. Men of one caste are now following the occupation of another under the irresistible pressure of self-preservation.

57. With these preliminary remarks I proceed to discuss the occupations in detail:—

Class A. Government.—The figures in this class scarcely need any comment. Out of a total of 11,774, messengers and constables contribute 1,893 and watchmen 8,841. There is a sprinkling of high-caste Hindus in the former, but the latter consist almost wholly of Mussalmans, with a handful of low-class Hindus.

58. *Class B. Pasture and Agriculture.*—The *zamindars*, and land occupants and tenants not cultivating, consist chiefly of higher classes of Hindus and Mussalmans, who consider

manual labour beneath their dignity, while land occupants and tenants cultivating belong wholly to the lower orders of Hindus and Mussalmans. Even men of the lowest order of Hindus, such as fishermen and sweepers, are to be found now among these classes of agriculturists. In this district nearly $\frac{7}{10}$th of the agriculturists of all descriptions in class B may be taken to be Mussalmans, and the rest Hindus of all castes.

59. It appears there is some mistake in the figure for fruit-growers. While there are only 97 souls in Chittagong and 563 in Tippera, it is not likely that Noakhali should have so many fruit-growers as 6,165. I believe fruit-growing as an occupation is unknown in this district. I also doubt if there are 118 market gardeners in Noakhali. But in this respect Chittagong beats Noakhali hollow with its figure of 1,237.

60. *Class C. Personal Service.*—Not a few of the barbers and washermen are agriculturists in addition to their caste-occupation. They are as yet all Hindus.

61. *Class D. Preparation and supply of material substances.*—The butter sellers ought to have been classed with ghee preparers and sellers. The trade is still confined to Hindu *Goalas*. The figures for Noakhali and Tippera appear doubtful under the former head. Other principal occupations in this class, viz., those of fishermen, grocers, and condiment dealers, betel-leaf sellers, and cotton weavers, blacksmiths, potters, carpenters, mat-makers, are also almost entirely in the hands of the Hindus. Gold and silver dealers, who ought to have been classed with goldsmiths, are also mostly Hindus, though this is perhaps the only occupation of the Hindus which Mussalmans in places have adopted. They were probably converts from this class originally. The above form the bulk of the occupations of this class in this district, and represent 79,620 in a total population of 125,699 under this head. In the remaining occupations, Hindus and Muhammadans take part according to the ratio of their numbers.

62. *Class E. Commerce, &c.*—It is startling that while Chittagong shows only 243 money-lenders, Noakhali should show no less than 4,069! Again, while Noakhali appears to have almost an equal number of merchants with Chittagong, a place noted for its trade and commerce, it shows only 1,158 unspecified shop-keepers against 9,893 of Chittagong. Though Muhammadans here and there, overriding their religious scruples against interest, have taken to money-lending, still these occupations are largely in the hands of the Hindus: the Shaha class still rigidly adhering to trade as a calling. Besides these, the other noticeable occupation in this class is that of boatmen, a majority of whom are Mussalmans, and the rest Hindus of the Chandal caste.

63. *Class F. Professions.*—Muhammadan Mollas and Khondkars appear to have been classed with Brahmans of all classes, pure and *Barna*, as priests in this class. Most of these, I believe, own land more or less, for with the rise of prices all round, and the struggle for existence getting keener and keener every day, the priest-craft is rapidly falling into discount. Not one-tenth, it is said, of the ceremonies, religious and social, which prevailed here only 30 years ago, is to be seen now. Brahmans are already betaking to callings which their ancestors would outcaste them for. Indeed, so hard has become their struggle for existence, that the chances are that they will, like their brethren in Bihar and Orissa, gradually degenerate into the tillers of the soil. As for the Mussalman priesthood, it does not form a caste. Any Mussalman is free to enter it if only he is qualified for it.

64. The priests, teachers, clerks, lawyers, and practitioners without diploma, which mean, I believe, the village physicians and midwives, constitute the bulk of occupations under this class. The medicine is no longer the special occupation of the Badya caste. Indeed very few of them now follow it. It is now followed by men of all orders, mostly Hindus as yet, from the Brahmans down to the Chandals, who have nothing else to do. They are mostly illiterate and have no pretension to any kind of knowledge, medical or otherwise. One peculiar feature of this district is that Mussalman males of a certain caste perform a certain office even in Hindu families, which is done by the midwives in other districts. They therefore call themselves *Dai*. The census shows only 20 males of this caste, which appears to me to be far below the mark. As the Mussalmans hold this caste very low, probably a large number of them have got themselves entered under some other denominations.

65. There are some curious figures under this head. Who, for instance, are the 2 authors, 8 public scribes and copyists—of touters their name is legion—7 civil engineers, 61 draughtsmen, 28 painters, no less than 2,424 bandmasters and players, and 90 athletes by profession in this district, I am at a loss to understand.

66. *Class G. Independent and indefinite.*—This class is almost wholly made up of rice-pounders and huskers, general labourers and mendicants, nearly all of whom may be taken to be Mussalmans.

67. The women of this district are exclusive to a degree in point of both pursuit and *parda*, not to be met with in any other part even of Bengal. They scarcely engage in domestic service or serve as day-labourer. A few only, very poor, husk paddy, and are paid in kind at stipulated rates. Their number shown by the census is only 1,242. I have never heard of this occupation being followed by males. The figure 453 probably represent infirm relations of the women so employed. The women of this district do not assist their husbands in outdoor agricultural or industrial pursuits, but largely take part in all that is done indoor. Only the women of the fishermen caste, middle aged and old, vend fish in the neighbouring villages and *hâts*. Even their number is much smaller here than in other districts. Beyond these, not a woman is to be seen in any hât or public place, religious gatherings, of course, excepted. Some helpless poor women, generally widows, also sell fried rice and vegetables in their villages.

68. Astatement showing the principal occupation of each caste is annexed:—

Names of castes.	Occupations.
Christian	হাল চাষ, চাকরী।
Buddhist and Magh ...	হালটী।
Mussalman.	
Shaikh	হাল চাষ। চাকরী নানা শ্রেণীর।
Sayyid	লেখাপড়ার চাকরী। খয়রাত।
Pathan	এদেশে যাহারা পাঠান বলিয়া পরিচয় দেয় তাহারা সেখের মতন ব্যবসা করে।
Jolaha	কাপড় বুনান ও চাষ।
Bedia	সাপ খেলা। মণিহারি দোকান। ভোজবাজী।
Dai	নাভী ছেদন। গরু ছাগল খাশি করা। হাল চাষ।
Hindu.	
Acharji and Ganaka ...	মুকুট প্রস্তুত। প্রতিমাগঠন। গণনা করা। সূত্রধরের গুরুতা পৌরোহিত্য।
Brahman	গুরুতা, যাজনিক, চাকরী (লেখা পড়ার)।
Bhat	পাটি প্রস্তুত, কবিতা রচনা ও পাঠ করিয়া অর্থ গ্রহণ করা।
Barna Brahman ...	নিম্ন শ্রেণী হিন্দুর যাজনিক ও গুরুতা।
Jugis' brahman ...	জুগিগণের গুরুতা ও পৌরোহিত্য।
Baniya	গন্ধবণিক্য ও স্বর্ণ বণিক্য বলিয়া পৃথক লেখা হইয়াছে।
Baidya	চিকিৎসা, লেখাপড়ার চাকরী।
Bairagi	ভিক্ষা। কেহ কেহ গৃহস্থি আদিও করে। কেহং মণিহারি দোকান করে। তুলসী চন্দন ইত্যাদি কাঠের মালা প্রস্তুত করিয়া বিক্রয় করে।
Boroj or Barui ...	পান রোপণ ও বিক্রয় করে।
Behara or Kahar ...	সওয়ারী বহন করা। হালটী, চাকরী।
Bhuimali and Hari ...	হালটী। ঢোল বাদ্য। পায়খানাদি প্রস্তুত ও মেরামত করা ঝাড়ু দেওয়া।
Chamar and Muchi ...	নূতন জুতা প্রস্তুত। পুরাতন জুতা মেরামত।
Chhutár	কাঠের চৌকী, সিন্দুক, খড়ম, পিড়ি ইত্যাদি প্রস্তুত করা। হালটী।
Chhatri	দোকানদারী, পেয়াদাগিরি ইত্যাদি চাকরী। ইহারা সটির পাল প্রস্তুত করিয়া বিক্রয় করে।
Dhobi	কাপড় ধৌত করা। হালটী।
Dom	মৎস্য বিক্রয়। সওয়ারী বহন করা। হালটী।
Gandha-banik and Gandha Paul.	বেনেতি দোকানদারী। শাঁখা প্রস্তুত।
Goala	দধি দুগ্ধ বিক্রয় করা। হালটী। গো চিকিৎসা।
Jugi	কাপড় বুনন। কেহং হাল চাষও করে।
Jaliya	মৎস্য ধরা, বিক্রয় করা। জাল বিক্রয় করা। হালটী।
Kamar	লোহার জিনিষ প্রস্তুত। হাল চাষ।
Kayastha	ভদ্র শ্রেণীর কায়স্থগণ লেখাপড়ার চাকরী করে। ছোট শ্রেণীর কায়স্থগণ (শূদ্র) পেয়াদাগিরি। বাসার চাকরী করে। হাল চাষ করে।
Kansari	কাঁসারীগণ তামা পিত্তলের ঘটী, বদনা ইত্যাদি প্রস্তুত করে।
Kshatriya	ছত্রি এবং ক্ষত্রিয় এক জাতি বলিয়া পরিচিত। বঙ্গভাষায় ক্ষত্রিয় ও সংস্কৃত ভাষায় ছত্রি বলিয়া থাকে।
Kumhar	মাটীর হাঁড়ি, পাতিল প্রস্তুত ও হাল চাষ।

Names of castes.	Occupations.
Kuri	চিড়া মুড়ী ইত্যাদি প্রস্তুত করে। হাল চাষ করে।
Kapali	ছালা প্রস্তুত করে। গান বাদ্য করে। হাল চাষ করে।
Malakar	মুকুট প্রস্তুত করে। পাটী প্রস্তুত, হালটী, নিম্ন শ্রেণীর চাকরী।
Napit	খৌরি কার্য্য, হাল চাষ।
Nama-sudra ...	মৎস্য ধরা ও বিক্রয় করা। হাল চাষ। সওয়ারী বহন করা।
Nat	ঢোল বাজান। গান বাদ্য। প্রতিমা প্রস্তুত। হাল চাষ।
Patni	মৎস্য ধরা, বিক্রয় করা, হাল চাষ, জাল প্রস্তুত ও বিক্রয় করা।
Patial	পাটি প্রস্তুত করে।
Pod	হাল চাষ।
Sankari	শঙ্খ প্রস্তুত করে ও বিক্রয় করে।
Sanayasi	ভিক্ষা করে, বান্দর নাচায় ও চিকিৎসা করে। ও গান, বাদ্য, নৃত্য করে।
Saha	দোকানদারী। হাল চাষ।
Sonar	সোণা রূপার কাজ, হাল চাষ (ইহারা জাতিতে মুসলমান)।
Sadgop	দধি দুগ্ধ বিক্রয় করা।
Subarna-banik ...	সোণা রূপার কাজ করে।
Tanti	কাপড় বুনান। হাল চাষ। নীচ শ্রেণীর চাকরী।
Teli	তৈল প্রস্তুত ও বিক্রয় করে। হাল চাষ।
Tripura	ইহাদের পরিধেয় কাপড় নিজে প্রস্তুত করে জুমে কার্পাস ও নানা প্রকার শাক সবজি তরকারী আদি উৎপন্ন করিয়া বিক্রয় করে, বাঁশের ধাড়া প্রস্তুত করে।
Turi	

HEAD X.—ADMINISTRATIVE.*

69. *Administration.*—The points on which the general instructions, so far as these were understood to be formulated, were departed from, were the following:—

The supervisors were appointed as soon as the circles were formed, and their recommendations and assistance were found of much use in the subsequent subdivision of the circles into blocks. They were also called on to nominate the enumerators, after the blocks were settled, and their nominations were for the most part accepted. The enumerators were appointed before the receipt of the *parwanas* of appointment: these were not received, in the case either of supervisors or enumerators, until the 10th November.

70. No separate serial number was adopted for each block on the general list as directed in the Census Superintendent's circular letter No. 459C., dated the 3rd December. The village number was repeated for each block, and where there were more blocks than one in a village, each was distinguished by the addition of a letter of the alphabet. This had been done as soon as the Census Superintendent's circular No. 19, enclosing form E, was received, and it was too late to alter it. He approved of the arrangement in his letter No. 484C., dated the 3rd December.

71. His instruction, conveyed in circular No. 12, dated the 26th September, not to assign more than 500 houses, if possible, to each supervisor's circle, could not be observed: all through it was understood that the word "house" was used in the same sense as at the last census, that is, as "the several buildings or rooms which go to make up the homestead whether inhabited by one or more families"; and circular No. 11, dated the 28th August, was clear authority for so treating it. In his second instruction to supervisors, however, the word "house" was for the first time authoritatively defined in a different manner, and this was not received until October, long after the circles had been formed. As the number of separate commensal families occupying the same homestead is in this district unusually large, it was found that a large number of the circles comprised even more than 1,000 houses as subsequently defined. A reference had been made to the Census Superintendent on the subject in this office letter No. 494G., dated the 6th August 1890, but from his reply, dated

* *Vide* letters Nos. 492C., and 1 Ct., dated 20th April 1891 and the 20th February 1892, from D. J. Macpherson, Esq., Offg. Magistrate of Noakhali, to the address of the Superintendent of Census.

the 13th idem, it was not understood whether he intended commensality to be the authoritative test, and his circular No. 11, received a fortnight later, was taken as indicating that the definition of a "house" adopted in 1881 was not after all to be departed from, anyway it was too late to rearrange the circles; and there were no *data* on which to do so.

72. The definition of a village given in circular No. 10 was strictly followed, and does not appear to have caused any difficulty.

73. Considerable difficulty was experienced in connection with the definition of a "house." In the first place, as already remarked, it was not known until the arrangements were much advanced that it was not intended to adhere to the definition of "*bari*" adopted at the last census; and the word was for the first time authoritatively defined in the instructions to supervisors which were not received here until October. In the next place it is very difficult to make any definition expressed, however lucidly, in a number of words intelligible to the class of people from whom the supervisors and enumerators in this district were drawn. No fault whatever can be found with the definition itself: it appears to be as good a one as could be devised to apply to the whole of the province. But so far as this district is concerned, the use of the word *khana* alone would have expressed what was intended and been far more intelligible than the definition itself. No doubt the supervisors and enumerators were made to understand that what was meant was simply *khana* as they understand that word here; but it was difficult to drum this into them, seeing that they found in the schedules and instructions themselves the word *bari*, which has an entirely different significance. If mention of the word *bari* could have been avoided altogether, no difficulty would have been caused.

74. The Noakhali Municipality, situated in Sudharam *thana*, was made a charge by itself. For the rest, each of the *thanas* in the district was constituted a separate charge. There were thus ten charges, with an average size, excluding the municipality, of 182·5 square miles and a population of 111,579.

The largest charges were Sandip and Sudharam *thanas*, with areas of 258 and 230 square miles and a population of 101,011 and 114,853 respectively. The municipality with an area of about two square miles contains a population of 5,479.

The next smallest charge was Bamni, with an area of 74 square miles and a population of 49,172. On the whole the charges were fairly workable.

75. The average size of a circle was 6·7 square miles, and the average number of houses in each 762. It has already been explained in paragraph 71 how the circles came to contain so many houses. Some of the circles, on the other hand, though extensive enough in area, contained only a few temporary huts tenanted by herdsmen in the dry season. These were *chars* which had to be made into separate circles on account of their situation. Two circles contained over 1,500 houses each. Where the number of houses exceeded 1,000, the fact was generally due to unusual subdivision of families, and owing to compactness they were not therefore found to be unwieldy. Generally speaking, however, the circles might have very advantageously been much smaller; but it would have been impossible in that case to have got the requisite number of competent supervisors in a backward district like this.

76. Every village containing less than 50 houses was formed into a separate block. In other villages, the houses were apportioned into blocks of about 50 houses each, and any houses that were over, were, so far as it could conveniently be done, made into a separate block. Local considerations and the difficulty experienced in getting competent men as enumerators led to departures from these arrangements in particular instances. More than one block formed in this way was not unfrequently placed under one enumerator. The average size of a block was about one-third of a square mile containing 35 houses. In Ramganj and Bamni some of the circles contained blocks with 70 houses. The average number of occupied houses under each enumerator was 48. In this district, except where there are *hâts*, there is no such thing as a street of houses, and the homesteads are scattered over the whole area of the *mauza*, with the exception of the rice *maths*. Each is at some distance from its neighbour, and generally surrounded by a dense mass of betelnut and other palms, round which there is often a moat of water on two or three sides. The approach to each winds among the palms in a circuitous fashion; so that altogether house to house visitation in this district involved a great deal of travelling on the part of census officers of all grades.

77. For the most part the numbers of houses were written on pieces of paper which were firmly plastered on to bamboo posts, and this was found sufficiently permanent for the purposes of the present census. The marking was also done with native ink, *gab*-juice mixed with ground charcoal, and cow-dung mixed with clay. In the municipality, and in a small area outside it, tar was used. The Municipal Commissioners defrayed the cost within the town. In the interior the expense was borne by the enumerators, and in some cases by the supervisors and *chaukidars*. The probable cost was above Rs. 150, but no portion was borne by Government. I asked for Rs. 128 for this purpose, as this would allow two pice for each enumerator, but only Rs. 50 was sanctioned, and as nothing was allowed for stationery expenses, which I had intended to distribute at the same time, it was useless to draw out the sum. Considering the other expenses they were put to, the enumerators would have been insulted by being offered less than a pice ahead.

78. As regards the system adopted in numbering houses, practical difficulties arose through there being but one series of numbers for a whole village containing several blocks. The enumerators were puzzled how to number new houses erected or discovered in their blocks after the first numbering was done. Some were able to continue with the village eries; but the most feasible method was found to be the use of the number of the contiguous

house with the addition of a letter of the Bengali alphabet. Both the methods were, however, found very awkward.

79. A permanent numbering of houses would enable the most difficult work connected with the census organization to be overcome with ease. It is hardly feasible, however, in this district. The walls of the houses are of bamboo matting, which requires to be changed at intervals and is often burnt down. The Muhammadan community, which forms the bulk of the population, is moreover of a migratory tendency. The difficulty in regard to numbering which recurs at each census could, however, be lightened, though not overcome, by distributing wooden tablets with a number burnt into each to the various *panchayati* unions. This would serve another purpose also, as it has come to light in the course of the present census that in some instances houses were omitted from the *chaukidari* assessment lists for dishonest purposes. The maintenance of a number on each house would have to be made one o the duties of the *panchayat*, and the cost should be borne by the *chaukidari* fund.

80. *Agency.*—In every case, except that of the Noakhali Municipality, the charge superintendent was a gazetted officer of Government. The two *thanas* of Fenny subdivision were placed under the subdivisional officer, who had the Police Inspector as his assistant. The island of Sandip was placed in charge of the Sadar Inspector of Police, and that of Hattia under a Sub-Deputy Collector. The large *thana* of Begamganj was also placed under a Sub-Deputy Collector, as no other officer of the district staff was available on the transfer to Barisal of the Deputy Magistrate who was at first in charge of it. The municipality was under the Chairman as charge superintendent. The remainder of the charges were each under a Deputy Magistrate, but as the officer in charge of Lakhmipur was the treasury officer, who could not leave his head-quarters, the Inspector of Police stationed there was made his assistant and did the bulk of the work. Two of the charge superintendents had during the cold season to be chiefly engaged on settlement work in places remote from their charges, so that the census operations interfered greatly with their regular work; but this could not be helped.

81. The supervisors were Rural Sub-Registrars, police officers, school pandits, *zamindari naibs* and *gumashtas*, and petty *talukdars*. They were chiefly recruited from among *zamindari amla*. The enumerators were for the most part *zamindari gumashtas*, *patshala gurus*, and cultivators; also shop-keepers when available. In the municipality four of the supervisors were Municipal Commissioners and one a pleader, while the enumerators were *mukhtears*, revenue agents, and office apprentices.

82. The duties of supervisors and enumerators were very far from being willingly undertaken at first, except by public officers. Threats of prosecution were in many cases necessary. Once they had fairly undertaken the duties, however, and realized that we were determined to have the work done, they discharged their duties with care and patience, and in many cases showed some zeal in endeavouring to do the work correctly. A very salutary effect was produced by the exemplary punishment of a fine of Rs. 50 imposed on a man who persistently refused to serve as an enumerator. This was inflicted towards the end of December by Mr. Pope, who was then District Magistrate, and notifications stating the result of the case were published in all parts of the district; on the other hand, the hope of securing paid employment in the abstracting office spurred on a certain number to show good work, and applications for abstracting clerkships were very numerous. They evidently expected, however, better terms than they ultimately got, for, although I appointed no supervisor or enumerator as abstracting clerk who had not applied for the post, a large proportion of them declined the appointments after they were made.

83. There were three prosecutions under the Census Act—one was the case of the enumerator referred to in last paragraph who persistently refused to serve; another man was fined two rupees for leaving the district at the time of the preliminary enumeration without asking permission or taking proper measures to secure the work being done efficiently in his absence. The third case—that of an enumerator who failed to undertake the duties—broke down on a technical ground connected with his appointment.

84. The duties of supervisor and enumerator involved pecuniary expenditure in every case. The cost of house numbering, already dealt with, was the smallest part of it. The preliminary enumeration was almost everywhere written up in the first instance in the rough on stationery of their own. This was mostly on account of their ignorance which, they well knew, would lead them to make many mistakes, and partly also because a large proportion of the printed schedules were not received in the district till after the enumeration had commenced. The work in the abstracting office would have been very troublesome indeed, had the printed forms not been filled up from a record already made. They also incurred expenses in journeying to the *thana* head-quarters on several occasions to receive instructions from the charge superintendents, and to attend gatherings held in various centres by myself and the subdivisional officer, at which all points which they did not understand were gone over and explained for the good of all. Roughly speaking, each supervisor incurred an expense of two rupees, and each enumerator of four annas.

85. No paid census officers were employed.

86. *Attitude of the people.*—Although the people knew that the census has already been twice taken without being followed up by fresh taxation, it is a positive fact that there was a widespread idea among the people that the present census was but the precursor of additional taxation. The principal grounds for this were—

(1) The much greater attention paid at this census to the accurate recording of the

occupations of the people, and of those who are instrumental in adding to the family income as distinct from mere dependants.

(2) The issue of a Government circular in October last for taking a census of agricultural stock, and its communication to the supervisors before the order for its withdrawal was received; and

(3) The knowledge that a great deal of expense was to be incurred by Government in tabulating the results, a matter of which they were ignorant when the tabulation was done in Calcutta. Another idea that prevailed among the more ignorant in some places was that widows were to be remarried. This originated from the care taken to record the civil condition of everybody. By the time the census was over the people had been assured of the erroneousness of their ideas, and the enumeration was made without any opposition.

87. *The results.*—The following statements show the results of the present census as compared with that of 1881:—

Thana.	Males.		Females.		Total Population.		Number of occupied houses.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881 (*baris*).	1891 (*khanas*).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sudharam town	3,410	3,559	1,714	1,920	5,124	5,479	1,046	1,128
Sudharam *thana*	48,452	56,824	47,732	58,029	96,184	114,853	10,336	22,917
Begamganj ...	65,894	81,735	63,039	78,211	128,933	159,946	16,869	27,346
Sandip ...	36,057	50,652	36,410	50,359	72,467	101,011	7,531	20,024
Bamni ...	20,367	23,872	21,364	25,300	41,731	49,172	5,046	9,363
Hattia ...	22,062	26,571	18,233	22,775	40,295	49,346	4,176	9,916
Ramganj ...	41,995	51,087	38,747	48,323	80,742	99,360	7,391	16,494
Lakhmipur ...	58,679	72,159	54,642	67,837	113,321	139,996	11,290	26,479
Fenny ...	65,585	81,945	67,112	84,297	132,697	166,242	12,542	30,575
Chhagalnaia ...	52,747	60,373	56,531	63,915	109,278	124,288	10,731	23,813
Total ...	415,248	508,727	405,524	500,966	820,772	1,009,693	86,958	188,055

Thana.	Area in square miles.	Population.		Increase of population.	Percentage of increase.	Population per square mile.		Number of persons per occupied house.	
		1881.	1891.			1881.	1891.	1881 (*baris*).	1891 (*khanas*).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sudharam town.	2	5,124	5,479	355	6·9	2,562	2,740	4·9	4·8
Sudharam thana.	230	96,184	114,853	18,669	19·4	416	499	9·2	5·0
Begamganj ...	220	128,933	159,946	31,013	24·0	586	727	7·6	5·8
Sandip ...	258	72,467	101,011	28,544	39·3	281	392	9·6	5·0
Bamni ...	74	41,731	49,172	7,441	17·9	564	664	8·2	5·2
Hattia ...	185	40,295	49,346	9,051	22·4	218	267	9·6	4·9
Ramganj ...	117	80,742	99,360	18,618	23·0	690	849	10·9	6·0
Lakhmipur ...	212	113,321	139,996	26,675	23·5	535	660	10·0	5·2
Fenny ...	216	132,697	166,242	33,545	25·3	614	770	10·5	5·4
Chhagalnaia	131	109,278	124,288	15,010	13·7	834	949	10·1	5·2
Total ...	1,645	820,772	1,009,693	188,921	23·0	500	614	9·4	5·3

88. There has been very little change in the area of the districts or *thanas* since last census. Four villages with an area of about 4 square miles and a supposed population of 4,269 have been transferred from Chittagong to the Fenny *thana*. *Char* Falcon, with an area of about 10 square miles, has been transferred from Backergunge to Hattia, but it contained no resident population at the previous census, and the island of Hattia is so liable to alluvion and diluvion that no change of area is considered necessary in this case.

89. The population of the district has increased in 10 years from 820,772 to 1,009,693, or 23·02 per cent. Every part of the district shares in the increase. The recovery from the effects of the cyclone of 1876 is the principal cause of the increase in the islands of Sandip and Hattia and in the littoral parts of Fenny and Bamni. But it is extraordinary that in Ramganj and Begamganj, which were far removed from its influence, the population has increased by about 23 per cent., and that too, although there was already in 1881 a density of 690 and 586 to the square mile in each of these *thanas* respectively. The cause must be sought in the extraordinary fertility of the soil and the immunity of the district

from scarcity caused by the vicissitudes of season. Improvement in general health cannot be assigned as the cause. In Ramganj, where the increase of population is most remarkable, there are large areas of *bil* lands and water-logged soil, and the place has a reputation for unhealthiness How far the increase can be said to be due to immigration cannot be determined until the figures are tabulated. Generally speaking, the increase of population in the tracts unaffected by the cyclone of 1876 may be attributed to the prevalence of early marriage throughout the Muhammadan and Hindu community, combined, of course, with the capability of the soil to support the increase. In spite of the density of the population, the peasantry appear to be in a most prosperous condition, which is largely due to the income they derive from the dense groves of betelnuts and cocoanuts surrounding their homesteads. The island of Hattia has not yet recovered from the effects of the cyclone of 1876, as its population is still less than it was in 1872. The density is less here than in any other part of the district, being only 267 to the square mile; but a great part of the *char* land is cultivated by temporary immigrants, chiefly from Backergunge, who do not bring their families with them. In Sandip the population is now 14,000 more than it was in 1872, so that it has fully recovered from the effects of the cyclone, which left it in 1881 with a population of 14,549 less than at the earliest census. In Chhagalnaia a number of the male inhabitants were away at the time of the census working in the forests of Hill Tippera, and nevertheless the density of the population there reaches the extraordinary figure for a rural tract in Bengal Proper of 949 to the square mile.

90. I have every confidence in the substantial accuracy of the enumeration made at the present census, but I am not satisfied with the results as totalled up in a very great hurry by ignorant people immediately after the final enumeration. Already a few mistakes have been found; but no estimate can be formed of the extent to which the aggregate preliminary totals of each *thana* will be affected. We must now be content to wait for accurate figures till the abstraction is completed. So far as was possible in the time, the additions made by the enumerators were checked by the charge superintendents and their *muharrirs*, but it was utterly impossible for them to do this thoroughly in the extremely short time allowed. Had I made up my mind not to telegraph the result till the 7th instead of the 5th of March, which was the date prescribed by the Census Superintendent, I could have been assured of the accuracy of the figures. At the outside, however, I do not think that the district totals will be found to be more than 1,000 out, and in the aggregate hardly any difference at all may possibly be apparent.

91. As to the substantial accuracy of the census itself, I have, as already indicated, no misgivings. Charge superintendents personally checked the enumeration in a number of villages, and during my own tour I devoted the bulk of my time to this duty, greatly to the detriment of the rest of my work. As I came to the district when half the tour of the district officer was over for the season, this work, so far as I was concerned, was confined to an area of 550 square miles, or just about one-third of the district: and in that area, I checked the actual enumeration made by 5½ per cent. of the enumerators, who numbered 1,270. Each enumerator there had an average of 54 occupied houses in his block, and I usually visited 5 to 6 houses in each block. I found one person omitted in each of three blocks only, and assuming that this percentage of omissions extended over the whole district, the total left out would be about 1,390. This test applied to a population of almost 400,000, or two-fifths of the whole population of the district.

92. I found a few instances in which females were entered as males and *vice versâ*, and I had to make many corrections in regard to age. As regards occupations, my corrections had to take the form more of avoiding surplusage than anything else, except the separation of workers from non-workers which gave a deal of trouble. The correctness of the schedules in regard to sub-castes, and in a less degree sects, may well be doubted. In regard to this, Babu Ganga Charan Chatterji, the Deputy Magistrate in charge of census work here, writes:—

"Very few of the low-caste Hindus know to what sect they belong, and the number of those who know their own sub-caste is still fewer. The sub-castes and sects were in some cases filled up on a reference to the entries in the specimen schedules, without any regard to the fact whether the persons concerned actually belonged to the particular sect and sub-caste or not. Thus a large number of Hindus returned themselves as *Saibas*, although it is a well-known fact that the number of *Saibas* in this district is extremely small Some barbers returned their sub-caste as *anarpuria*, although it is well-known that no *anarpuria* napit resides in this district. Some *jugis* returned their sub-caste as *mâsya*, simply because the word *mâsya* occurs in the specimen schedule, thinking it was something respectable." One of the most remarkable things connected with the census was the eagerness with which certain castes and sub-castes sought to raise themselves in the social scale by securing entry of their names in the schedules under a designation conceived to import some degree of respectability. From all I can gather, indeed, the sample schedules were very puzzling at first to the supervisors and enumerators, who were made with difficulty to understand that they were mere hypothetical instances not necessarily applying to this district. Besides the instances affecting sub-castes already mentioned, the Subdivisional Officer of Fenny discovered a case in which an enumerator entered all the widows in his block as "*chaukidar*'s dependants," for no other reason than that a widow had been shown as such in the sample schedule! On the whole, however, I think that a considerable approach to accuracy has been attained in regard to the detailed information contained in the schedules. After I had ascertained from experience the difficulties that had suggested themselves to supervisors and enumerators in interpreting the instructions, I drew up a detailed set of supplementary instructions in the

form of question and answer, and these were circulated to all supervisors. Charge Superintendents, Sub-Registrars, and police officers scrutinized the bulk of the schedules and corrected them in all details, and the trouble they took over this was most creditable to them.

93. This leads me to bring to notice the services rendered by individual officers. The officers of all departments cordially co-operated with the census officers in ensuring the success of the operations. The greatest assistance came from the Registration Department, and particularly from the Special Sub-Registrar, Maulvi Abdus Salam, and the Rural Sub-Registrars of Begamganj and Senbág, Babu Ambica Prasanna Mojumdar and Munshi Asadazamam. Had it not been for the exertions of the two latter, the work in Begamganj *thana* would have suffered much, owing to the transfer of the charge superintendent to Barisal in the very end of November. Two of the Honorary Magistrates, Maulvi Abdul Haq Khan, and Maulvi Mezaffar Ahmad, deserve special mention for the interest they took in the work near the head-quarters of the district, which was all the more creditable to them that they are independent gentlemen. The police officers, as was to be expected, rendered very great assistance, and particularly Inspectors Babu Hari Mohan Ghosh and Babu Nabin Chandra Ghosh. The whole district staff, down to the *amla*, who went out into the interior on the census night, at their own expense, bore with patience the great addition to their ordinary duties thrown on them by the census, and I am much indebted to all the Deputy Magistrates and the Sub-Deputy Collectors for the assistance they rendered and the interest they took in the work. The work of one and all was extremely heavy, as the district staff was short-handed by one most capable Deputy Magistrate. I may be permitted to bring most prominently to notice the valuable services rendered by Babu Ganga Charan Chatterji, the Deputy Magistrate in charge of census work in this district. He was most indefatigable and unwearied in the exertions he made, and it is to him that the credit is due for the smoothness with which all difficulties were overcome, and the success with which the operations were carried out. I gave him a free hand in the management of all details, and he fully justified the confidence I placed in him.

94. After all, the persons to whom our thanks are chiefly due are the supervisors and enumerators, who, not being beholden to Government in any way, gave their service gratuitously, and even incurred expense from their own pockets in the discharge of the duties thrust upon them. They did their work, on the whole, remarkably well, and with much patience and considerable zeal, and I trust they may receive some acknowledgment of their services. In submitting my census diary for January to Government, I suggested their receiving some recognition of their services as soon as the census was over, and even, if such acknowledgments be not issued from the office of the Superintendent, Census Operations, I think they would appreciate printed acknowledgments issued to them by the district officer. I purpose having this done, but as sometime has already elapsed, perhaps it may now be as well to postpone actual issue until scrutiny of the schedules shows whether any have failed to discharge their duties properly.

95. I regret the delay that has taken place in the submission of this report. It is partly due to officers being away in inaccessible *chars* on settlement work, but chiefly to my having had a great deal of work pressing upon my own attention. There was no avoidable delay on the part of the Census Deputy Magistrate, in furnishing me with the detailed materials on which this report is based.

96. The employment of selected enumerators as abstractors was not a success. More than three-fourths of the appointments were given to these in the first instance, according to the nominations of the charge superintendents. Many enumerators who were selected did not ultimately accept the appointments, and others resigned after a few days, or had to be dismissed for inefficiency. These changes were very prejudicial to the work. As a rule young men were found to do better than old, and enumerators were not generally young. The work would have been done better also if the usual holidays had been allowed without question, even if the men had been put on half-pay for these days.

97. The tasks were excessive on abstraction sheets II and XI, and on tabulation registers I to VI and XV. Even the best abstractors were not always able to finish the task on sheet II as early as sheet XI, difficult though the latter was. It was likewise impossible for the tabulators on registers XIV, XV, XIX, and XX to fill up also the totalling forms W, S, Y, and Z. Separate men altogether should have been allowed for these totalling forms, instead of paying rewards to the tabulators themselves for doing so. Much confusion arose from having it done by the same men. The tasks on abstraction sheets V and VI were, on the other hand, too easy.

98. The time allowed might have sufficed if all the staff were experienced men. Owing to resignations and the appointment of abstractors as tabulators, some of the abstractors were always new men. The work was finished in this district by the prescribed date, only because the men, in their anxiety to have no fault found with it and to earn the promised rewards, worked both morning and afternoon. Most certainly the work could not have been done within the prescribed time, if the staff had not worked much beyond the regular hours. It would have been better to prolong the time and employ fewer abstractors, as a more competent staff, as a whole, could then have been obtained.

99. For the class of men required, the pay with the rewards was sufficient. But if rewards are to be withheld, as they have so far been in this district, except from the Inspector, it would be far better to give higher pay and no rewards at all. In this district the men recommended for rewards worked their level best, not only to finish the work in time, but to make sure of its having been done with absolute accuracy, and yet rewards have been

refused. If any district deserved rewards, this one did; for I know the staff did all that it was possible for human beings to do to earn them; some of them—and these by no means slow-workers—labouring from morning to nightfall, even occasionally taking their food with them to office, rather than have it said the work had been done inaccurately. No man will ever in future have any faith in the prospect of reward for census work or any other similar work under Government; so a higher rate of pay should be given straight off. Incremental pay is out of place in so temporary an office.

100. Much inconvenience was experienced owing to frequent modifications in the instructions issued from the Superintendent's office. To secure smoothness in the work, it is essential that everything should be cut and dried before the commencement, and no modifications should be introduced subsequently, except on the clearest demonstrated necessity.

101. It is also essential that forms should be supplied in plenty of time beforehand. Tabulation was greatly delayed for want of forms, and this office was closed and the staff discharged some time before the forms for tabulating Christians reached the district. A temporary staff had to be taken on again for this, and at a time when the Deputy Magistrate, who had all along been in charge of census arrangements, was far away on tour. Delays in the supply of forms also led to unnecessarily heavy expenses on telegrams.

102. All the trouble taken in collecting information in the schedules in regard to sects has gone for nothing, except as regards Christian sects, for no provision was made in the abstraction and tabulation forms for extracting it.

103. Similarly, no attempt has been made to utilize the information contained in the schedules as to the number of workers as distinct from the number of dependants supported by each occupation. There was no part of the work that confused the enumerators more than the distinction of dependants. It no doubt secured that all the people supported by a particular occupation have been ranged under it; but as no further use has been made of the information, the enormous amount of labour spent upon it by all grades of officers has practically gone for nothing. Personally I spent hours daily in explaining and correcting the classification of dependants at a time when I had to work 14 or 15 hours a day in order to secure the success of the census in this district. In future, officers should be told beforehand what information will be abstracted, so that they may not misdirect their energies. On the other hand, occupations have been abstracted according to age periods, which does not seem to be of much advantage as it stands. Certainly the information on this point must be of a much less economic and administrative value than information as to the number of drones in Indian society.

104. The heading "Literate" might with advantage have been subdivided into "English" and "other languages" in abstraction sheet II, Tabulation Register VII, and the test slip. This would enable comparison to be made with sheet X.

105. The columns headed "Total males" and "Total females" in abstraction sheet III were for the aggregates of the subsidiary totals of the preceding columns; but inconvenience was felt through there not being a subsidiary total for the age "15 and over." The necessity for it led to an additional column being added in manuscript throughout.

106. The column headed "Caste, Race or Tribe" in abstraction sheet VII was too cramped for giving this information against each age-period.

107. The test slip was sufficient for its purpose, except that it afforded no check on castes and occupations. There were four sheets on which castes had to be shown, and the figures in each were occasionally found to differ. I fear it would not be practicable, however, to devise a test form for this; on the other hand, the columns headed "Total" in the test slip seemed unnecessary.

108. It was not understood why in some of the Tabulation Registers there were 10 lines and in others 12. Had there been uniformity in this respect, inter-comparison could have been made by 10 or 12 blocks instead of merely by 60.

109. I may take the opportunity of noting the following as the kind of mistakes most frequently found in the enumeration schedules when they came to be abstracted :—

(1) When persons were found absent on the night of final numbering, a line was often drawn merely through the name instead of right across the page, and that too sometimes very indistinctly. This led to differences in the various abstraction sheets, through the scoring out being noticed only in abstracting the columns nearest the names.

(2) Occasionally when a name was entered for the first time on the night of final numbering, the succeeding columns were not all filled up completely.

(3) Persons with male names were sometimes entered as females and *vice versâ*, owing to inability to follow the horizontal line straight.

(4) The language was sometimes entered against persons who were illiterate, or under-instruction.

(5) Some of the occupations were described in an unintelligible manner.

(6) Castes and sub-castes were often interchanged. In spite of all this, I am confident that the census of this district has been taken with practical accuracy, and that abstraction and tabulation have been correctly performed, making due allowance for adjustment within the sanctioned limit. The only doubt is as regards castes, sub-castes, and occupations, for which no check was afforded by the test slip; but even here the figures are substantially accurate. One abstractor

was found to be entering minor occupations under cognate ones to save himself trouble, but he was instantly dismissed with forfeiture of pay due, and his work done almost entirely over again. Castes and sub-castes were correctly abstracted so far as this could be secured by inter-comparison between three sheets in which they were shown. The "dotting system" was found to be of great value in securing accuracy on sheets I and XI.

110. I agree in the opinion expressed by the Census Superintendent that the whole staff should be employed on the simplest sheets first, and advance gradually to the more intricate ones, although the work will not proceed so mechanically as under the old system. It will tend to diminish mistakes, but reabstraction or adjustment will still be necessary, however intelligent and careful the abstractors may be. I approve of the proposal to fix the pay at Rs. 18, and keep back one-third of it till the work has been tested. At the same time, I do not think that the pay withheld should be formed indiscriminately into a fund for paying for reabstraction, nor do I gather that this is a necessary part of the Census Superintendent's proposal. A scale of penalties should be imposed which should approximately cover the cost of reabstraction, and proportionate deductions made from the withheld pay of the men who make or pass the mistakes.

111. This is the only opportunity I have, since enumeration was finished, of bringing prominently to notice the admirable services performed by Babu Ganga Charan Chatterji, the Deputy Magistrate, who was throughout in charge of census operations in this district. It is due to his unflagging devotion and the excellent example which it inspired, that census work in this district was finished sooner than anywhere else in the province, and that too, with accuracy that has stood the test of rigid scrutiny in the Census Superintendent's office. He never spared himself from morning to night, and took great pride in seeing that everything was done punctually and accurately. It was no wonder then that a great portion of the staff did the same, and the services rendered by such men as Naba Chandra Sarkar, one of the assistants, and Rajmohan Das, the record-keeper, were as deserving of recognition as those of the Inspector, Babu Joy Chandra Ghosh, who has received a reward of Rs. 75. I trust that the Census Superintendent will recommend Babu Ganga Charan Chatterji's services to the favourable notice of Government.

C. A. P.—Reg. No. 2440J—90—15-8-94.

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